

"The revolutionary ideas of France have already
 "made but too great a progress in the hearts
 "of men in all countries, and even in the very
 "centre of every capital. If crime be crowned
 "with reward in France, every individual may
 "hope that the subversion of order in his own
 "country will procure him a situation, if not
 "honourable, at least honoured. IT IS NOT
 "BONAPARTE THAT AT PRESENT
 "FORMS THE DANGER OF EUROPE:
 "he is unmasked. IT IS THE NEW OPI-
 "NIONS; it is the disorganisation of men's
 "minds; it is the making revolt a calculation
 "of private interest; it is the most deadly of
 "all contagions, the contagion of immorality,
 "of false philanthropy, of a peridious self-
 "styled philosophy; from all which the world
 "requires to be protected. THIS IS THE
 "TRUE HYDRA which must be DE-
 "STROYED, or it will destroy all Europe.
 "The cause of morality is the cause of GOD;
 "it is the cause of all men, of all nations, of
 "all thrones!"—TIMES Newspaper, 6 June,
 1815.

LETTER V.

TO LORD CASTLEREAGH.

*On the Debates relative to the Commence-
 ment of the War against France.*

MY LORD,

II. *Of the French system of Government.*

—For a long while it was pretended, that it was merely Napoleon who was the object of dread with the Allies. They would not interfere in the domestic affairs of France. They would not presume to say *what sort of government* the French should have. They did not pretend to deny, that they had no right to forbid the French to have whatever *kind of government* they might choose. But, Napoleon; it was merely Napoleon, that they wished to put down, because he had broken his treaties with them, and because his ambition was such, that he would never suffer Europe to be at rest. This was the language for a long while. But, by degrees, it has changed; and, it is the French SYSTEM,

which we now hear the warriors most bitterly complain of. They have disguised this for a good while; because, the letting it be seen, that they were at war against the *kind of government* existing in France, was to give their opponents a powerful handle against them. At last, however, they have been driven to suffer this to take place. They were beaten upon the *personal* question, and were compelled to fly to the *system*. In the published report of the Debate in the House of Lords, it is stated, that the EARL of LIVERPOOL said, that we were "compelled again to have recourse to arms, and to renew the contest against that power, and that *system*, which had been the parent of such tremendous calamities: that the *state of things* in France afforded no security for peace without the most imminent danger to other nations: that, with such a government as that of France, animated with such a spirit, and acting upon such principles, it was impossible to expect with safety to remain in a state of peace: that he himself was desirous that France should have a limited government, founded on principles of a nature similar to those which prevailed in THIS COUNTRY. He knew that it had been a matter of speculation how far a free constitution could be maintained in France, together with that large military force, which, on account of her extensive frontier, numerous fortresses, and from other causes, it might be necessary for that country to keep up even in time of peace. It had been contended by some, that so large a military establishment was incompatible with a limited government; but whether that opinion was well or ill founded, this at least was clear, that under such circumstances, it was impossible that a free Constitution could exist where the head of the government was a military chief, who owed his situation to the sword, and whose title arose from, and was founded on the sword. There was no individual under

“ whose sway it was so totally impossible
 “ that any thing like a limited government
 “ could exist, as that individual whose
 “ title depended on the sword, whose
 “ fame, whose power, and all that ren-
 “ dered him distinguished, arose from,
 “ and was connected with war and con-
 “ quest. At the period of the invasion
 “ of France, the general impression in
 “ that country was, that under him there
 “ was no hope of a permanent limited go-
 “ vernment; and the common opinion
 “ was, that so desirable an object would
 “ be best secured under *the sway of the*
 “ *old family*. There was, in the very cir-
 “ cumstance of the Government being in
 “ the hands of the old and legitimate fa-
 “ mily, which formed the *best security*
 “ for the permanence and support of a
 “ *limited system*. If the restoration of
 “ the old family, therefore, would be be-
 “ neficial to the *whole of the rest of Eu-*
 “ *rope*, it would be in the *highest degree*
 “ *favourable to France*. Then could any
 “ one so completely shut his eyes to all
 “ that happened during the last 14 or 15
 “ years, as to believe that this country or
 “ Europe could with safety enjoy a state
 “ of repose, *while the PLAN and SYS-*
 “ *TEM of Government remained as it was*
 “ *at present?* that *in the whole of*
 “ *Europe there was only one sentiment*, and
 “ the Sovereigns had the means and the will
 “ to resist a system, the existence of which
 “ must be destructive of all hopes of secure
 “ and permanent tranquillity. That
 “ the Allies wished not to see France aban-
 “ doned to the ravages of war, her pro-
 “ vinces or her resources curtailed, but
 “ only *such a government existing in that*
 “ *country as would afford security to the*
 “ *rest of Europe*. In this view he thought
 “ it would be generally admitted, that the
 “ restoration of Louis XVIII. to his
 “ throne was an object dear to the heart,
 “ not only from feelings of SYMPATHY,
 “ but from a principle of general expedi-
 “ ency. That the argument, then,
 “ was this: in the first place, you clearly
 “ had a just cause of war against THAT
 “ SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT IN
 “ FRANCE, which experience had deci-
 “ dedly proved to be incompatible with the
 “ peace and independence of the nations of
 “ Europe: next, you had, at present,
 “ means of opposing that system which
 “ you could not reasonably hope to pos-
 “ sess at a future time; and the question

“ was, whether, under these circumstances,
 “ it was not incumbent upon you to take
 “ advantage of this state of things, and
 “ oppose so PERNICIOUS A SYS-
 “ TEM, whilst the amplest means of
 “ resistance were in your power.
 “ That we had a right to say, that France
 “ shall not have a Government which threa-
 “ tens the repose of other nations.
 “ that we ought not to refuse to join in
 “ crushing one of the greatest evils that
 “ ever existed.”—Thus far the PRIME MI-
 “ NISTER. Nothing can be more full to the
 “ point. It is the SYSTEM; the sort of
 “ Government. This is what the Allies are
 “ at war with; and, they are at war with
 “ Napoleon because he is the Chief of the
 “ nation, who have adopted that system.—
 “ The report gives to LORD GRENVILLE
 “ the following expressions upon this point:
 “ Was it nothing now to be desired to
 “ sanction a system under which Europe
 “ had so long groaned, with such an army
 “ and such a chief at its head? If his dis-
 “ position was said to have undergone
 “ some change, his situation again was
 “ now changed; and as the army was for-
 “ merly upheld by spoliation and plunder,
 “ so now, for the same objects, he was re-
 “ called by his former instruments, who
 “ alone could maintain him in his regained
 “ power. As to new constitutions, he was
 “ firmly of opinion, that a good constitu-
 “ tion could only be formed by the adapta-
 “ tion of remedies from time to time, un-
 “ der the circumstances which required
 “ them. That seemed the only means of
 “ accomplishing that difficult work. The
 “ only instance of exception mentioned
 “ was that of America: but that did not
 “ apply. The founders of that constitu-
 “ tion acted with great wisdom. It was
 “ framed so as to produce as little change
 “ as possible in the existing laws and man-
 “ ners under the altered form of govern-
 “ ment, which, though a republic, was
 “ constructed as nearly as the difference
 “ would admit, on the monarchical form
 “ of our OWN CONSTITUTION.”—
 “ How odd it is, my Lord, that we
 “ should always be wanting other people
 “ to imitate our “ *invaluable Constitu-*
 “ *tion!*” However, this is another man’s
 “ matter, as the saying is. It shall be my
 “ business, in a separate address to Lord
 “ Grenville, to shew him how “ *nearly*” the
 “ Americans have constructed their Govern-
 “ ment upon our plan: that shall be my

business, and shall be fully discharged in the next number of the Register.—But, to return to the French SYSTEM, the reporter makes your Lordship say: “that in this case it is impossible to separate the Government from the nation.”—Mr. J. SMITH is reported as having called the French system a system of Plunder and to have called the French army *banditti*. Did the gentleman never hear of any other plunderers? I have a great mind to send him a file of American newspapers! The truth is, that we do take the liberty to look upon ourselves as exempt from all the moral obligations which we apply to the conduct of others. We are like Butler’s Saints, who insisted, that fiddles, race-horses, whores, and dice were their exclusive property, and were, in part, unjustly detained from them *by the wicked*.—Mr. GRATTAN’S words are next given by the reporter, who makes that gentleman say: “that the French Government is a stateocracy: that the French Constitution was war, and that Bonaparte was the man best calculated to support it: . . . that with Mr. Burke’s authority, with Mr. Fox’s practice, and with the opinions and conduct of others whom it would wear out a day to name, he was against a treaty founded on the chances of Bonaparte’s giving liberty to France, at the certain hazard of the independence of Europe. If we had no right to dictate a Government to France, we had a right to say to France, ‘You shall not choose a Government, the object of which is to raise all your strength against Europe.’ As to the Government of Louis the Eighteenth, which he should rather speak of as *interrupted* than *subverted*, it was mildness itself compared to that of Bonaparte. It was free under it to discuss all questions of church or ministry, or political or religious intolerance, and the science of Government and philosophy, and intolerance advanced under it, and there was at least an amenity in France that rendered a great nation amiable. It was now proposed to subject that race of people to a pure oriental despotism. There was a sort of monstrous unreality in the revived system of Government, that stated nothing as it is; and every thing as it was not. (Hear.) The whole state was corrupted. He would ask whether by treaty they would con-

firm in the heart of Europe a military domination founded on triumph over civil rights, and which had made the experiment of governing a great nation without any religion, and which aimed at governing Europe by means of breaking oaths and deposing Kings? (Hear) If they would agree to confirm that system,—if they would degrade the honour of England—if they would forget the value of morals, and despise the obligations of religion,—if they would astonish all our allies by such a confirmation, would not Europe exclaim against us, and say, ‘You have kindly assisted and generously contributed to our deliverance; and do you at the most urgent moment fall back?’ In vain have you so long opposed and born up against the flying fortunes of the world, in vain have you taken the eagles from the hands of the invaders, in vain have you snatched invincibility from the standards of the foe! Now, when all Europe is ready to march, are you, who were in the front before, the foremost to take the lead in desertion?’ . . . MR. C. WYNNE quoted a number of historical facts, to shew that it had always been necessary to curb the ambition of FRANCE, and contrasted the approaching meeting in Paris, to accept the new constitution, under the influence of a military despotism, with the FREEDOM OF ELECTION IN ENGLAND, where all the troops were removed from the spot at which it took place.”—This is very true, my Lord. I dare say there were no army present at the election of Mr. QUINTIN DICK; nor did I ever hear of any being employed at Sarum, Gatton, Reygate, Appleby, Bamber, Queenborough, Newton, and a long list of fine places in Cornwall, Scotland, Ireland, and, indeed all over the kingdom; though I do recollect, I think, something about soldiers being employed at Bristol.—Here, my Lord, I conclude as to this point; and, I think, that it will never, after this, be denied, that the war is now, as it was in 1791, 1792, 1793, and the succeeding years, ‘till 1814, a struggle between republican principles, or, as they are sometimes called jacobin principles, and the principles of aristocracy and monarchy. Which are the best and which the worst of these principles, we are not now dis-

cussing. It is the *fact*, that I am anxious to record the proof of: namely, That the war is a war against the *system of government*, which the French have adopted; a system, of government, which recognizes the right of the people to choose their own Chief Magistrate; which acknowledges no feudal titles or privileges; which knows of no tithes, no predominant Church, Clergy, or Religion; which takes *taxation* as the basis of representation; which knows nothing of Boroughs or their patrons.—Pray, my Lord, look at the *motto* to this Letter.

III. *Of our present situation with regard to France.*—This, my Lord, is a great point. Because, we have been about 22 years at war; and, if we find the members of both houses of parliament insisting, that **WE ARE NOW IN SUCH A STATE** with regard to France; that *another war is absolutely necessary to save us from destruction*, is it not time for us to begin to ask *what we have had 22 years of war for?* The whole of this thinking, “this most thinking people” were drunk; they were mad with joy, last year. They boasted, and were applauded for boasting, that they had, by their perseverance in submitting to taxation, at last, won *peace and safety for themselves and for their children.*—Now, then, let us hear what the members of the two houses of parliament are reported to have said upon the subject of our present situation, that is to say, our situation at the end of about eleven months from the time when that boasting took place.—It was said

By the EARL of LIVERPOOL: “Indeed, “what *other alternative* was left but “war, or an *armed peace* almost “equivalent to war in point of ex- “pence, and leaving the country in “a feverish state of *anxiety as to* “defence? Supposing a treaty with “Bonaparte, could any man con- “template a *peace establishment in* “the *old sense of that phrase?* The “country could only have a *feverish* “and *disturbed repose.* The system “of armed defence was calamitous in “itself, and one of which the country “had had no experience. He admit- “ted that circumstances might exist “in which an armed peace might be “preferable to war;—if for instance “the powers of Europe had not been

“prepared, or were indisposed to the “contest, in that case an armed peace “would be preferable, though it “would still be an **ALTERNATIVE** “OF EXCESSIVE EVIL.

By LORD BATHURST, “that it was not “possible for us to avoid war *sooner* “or *later*; that, next year, Bona- “parte’s power would be more for- “midable than this year; that we “went to war to *secure ourselves* “against alarming danger.

By LORD GRENVILLE, that we were “un- “der the *fatal necessity* of going to “war; that war was not only neces- “sary but *unavoidable*; that there “was *no option* left us, nor any long “time for *deliberation*; that we “were placed by an *imperious ne-* “cessity in a state to do what could “not be avoided; that in *this situa-* “tion we were called on to adopt the “means calculated to avert the great- “est dangers. No words of which “he was master; nothing that the “page of history recorded, appeared “adequate to impress on their Lord- “ships minds the situation in which “we were now placed. If such “means were required from any, to “place in full view the dangers of “removing the barriers against “French ambition and aggression, “and the necessity that must exist if “they were not removed, he should “despair.”

By MR. GRATTAN, “that, as to the ability “of opposing aggression, he hoped “none would live to see the time “when England, together with the “rest of Europe, would be obliged “to truckle before France, and when “these islands should seek an *humble* “situation under the French *Impe-* “rial Eagle. What would be our “situation if we abandoned our al- “liance? State it as you please, it “must be first of all an *armed peace.* “No Minister would venture to “disarm the country in such a case. “This armed peace would be follow- “ed by the evils of a *corruption of* “manners, and a vastly increased “expenditure; and that would be “followed by a renewal of war. “You might then have no alliance, “certainly not so strong an alliance “as you have; while your enemy

" would be confirmed in his title, and
 " have full opportunity to arm him-
 " self. Instead of fighting for the
 " French crown, you would give him
 " the chance of fighting for the Eng-
 " lish crown. You are
 " not to consider about what money
 " you must spend, BUT WHAT FOR-
 " TUNES YOU MAY BE ABLE TO KEEP.
 " On the very principle of *economy*,
 " you are to consider that you will
 " not expend more by war than by
 " remaining at peace, with the de-
 " mands of a war establishment."

By MR. PLUNKETT, that " he considered
 " that we had, in fact, *no option be-
 " tween peace and war*. As for peace,
 " we could have no more than a fever-
 " ish, *unrefreshing dream of peace*.
 " *still haunted by the spectre of war*.
 " In point of finances we should find
 " a peace with a war establishment
 " would be much greater than war.
 " If we did now go to war in con-
 " junction with all the great powers
 " of Europe, we would *soon be re-
 " duced to a war single-handed against*
 " *France*. If we did not now in-
 " vade France, and carry on the war
 " upon her territories, the time might
 " come when *our country would be-
 " come the seat of war, and we would*
 " *fall unpitied and despised*. If we
 " were now to turn our back upon
 " the great powers that were our
 " Allies, we would deserve that all
 " nations should turn their backs
 " upon us, when we began to feel
 " the consequences of our impolicy.
 " Mr. Plunkett's speech was received
 " by the House with *great applause*,
 " and he was *loudly cheered for se-
 " veral minutes* after he had sat down."

By LORD MILTON, that " it was better to
 " *have war with the advantages of war,*
 " *than peace without the advantages*
 " *of peace*; and considering, as he
 " did, that no faith could be placed
 " in the present Ruler of France, he
 " thought the only *real security we*
 " *could have, was to be found in a*
 " *vigorous war*."

IV. *Of the Pitt system.*—This is the
 most important point of all; for, in fact,
 the question is *now to be decided*, whether
 the system of this man was good or bad.
 Not to be decided for the *intelligent part*
 of the nation; but for the herd, who have

no mind of their own; who never think;
 who take up the thoughts of others; who
 are, in reality, no more members of civil
 society than are dogs and horses, whom
 they imitate in subserviency, and whom
 they hardly surpass in the powers of rea-
 soning. For these persons, if persons they
 ought to be called; for those who are not
 to be convinced by the weight of taxes
 which they bear; by the disappearance of
 the real money of the country; by the
 sale of *light guineas* at 28 shillings each
 in Bank of England paper; by the law
 protecting that Bank against the demand
 of payment of its notes in cash; by the
 law making those notes a legal tender for
 rent; by the tripling of the *poors-rates*
 and the paupers; by the law relative to
 the importation of Corn; by all the laws
 laying restraint upon the press; by the
 suspension of the *habeas corpus* act for
 seven years at one time; by the keeping
 up, for many years, and still now keeping
 up, a foreign army, an army of Germans,
 of *Hanoverians*, in England, in time of
 peace as well as in time of war: for those,
 who are not to be convinced by all these
 things, the question is *now to be decided*,
 whether the Pitt system be a good one or
 a bad one.—One would have thought,
 however, after having heard the *above*
description of our perilous state at this
 time; after hearing the country described
 as having no alternative but *war* or an
armed peace; after having it positively as-
 serted, and hearing the assertion *cheered*
 from all quarters, that we are now under
 the fatal necessity of renewing the war and
 of paying subsidies, and that this gives us
 the *only chance of salvation*: after hear-
 ing this, had we, my good Lord, to ex-
 pect, that, in the same place, and upon
 the same occasion, that *system* which had
 brought us into this state, would be ex-
 tolled to the skies?—Yet, such is the
 fact, which I now have to record.—In
 the published report of your Lordship's
 speech of the 23th of May, I find the fol-
 lowing passage. After speaking in a high
 strain of the *justice* and *wisdom* of the
 Congress at Vienna, and of the *treaties*
 made there, you are reported to have pro-
 ceeded as follows:—"When the proper
 " period arrived, he was prepared to jus-
 " tify them as carrying into execu-
 " tion, not only in substance, but almost
 " in all the details, *that plan which had*
 " *been formed by a statesman, from whom*

“ he, and those who acted with him, must
 “ ever feel the highest deference and ad-
 “ miration—Mr. PITT. He (Mr. Pitt)
 “ when contemplating the possible success
 “ of a great confederation against France,
 “ had considered that general arrange-
 “ ment which had been in a great measure
 “ carried into effect, to be that which
 “ would prove most conducive to the hap-
 “ piness of Europe. He (Lord Castlereagh)
 “ was prepared to shew when the
 “ question came before the House, that
 “ the decisions which had been made with
 “ respect to the immediate interests of this
 “ country, *were more advantageous than*
 “ *those fondly contemplated by Mr. Pitt,*
 “ *as the consequences of successful war.*—
 “ He had not hoped that such good con-
 “ ditions could be obtained for Holland as
 “ had been secured at the Congress. Mr.
 “ Pitt had considered it necessary to ex-
 “ tend the power of Prussia beyond the
 “ Rhine, and the annexation of Genoa
 “ with Piedmont was *a part of his plan,*
 “ much as that arrangement had of late
 “ been censured by those in opposition to
 “ the present Government. At an early
 “ period of the late war, at least when the
 “ successes of the Allies had first given a
 “ prospect of a successful termination of
 “ the struggle against France, soon after
 “ the Russian army had crossed the Vis-
 “ tula, he (Lord Castlereagh) had trans-
 “ mitted a copy of *the dispatch of Mr.*
 “ *Pitt* to the Ambassador of the Emperor
 “ Alexander, and desired to be apprized
 “ if any, and what alteration had taken
 “ place in the views of Russia with respect
 “ to that plan in the event of the contest
 “ being brought to a successful issue.
 “ The answer to this communication in-
 “ formed him, that ‘ the Emperor of Rus-
 “ sia had nothing to state in departure
 “ from the principles of the arrangement
 “ *laid down by Mr. Pitt in 1805.*’ This
 “ was *some proof of their solidity,* and
 “ on *these principles* England had gone
 “ into the contest closely united in the
 “ views with her Allies. *Acting on these*
 “ *feelings* which had regulated his con-
 “ duct, however he might be sensible that
 “ it was not possible an arrangement with
 “ any particular power could fix the rela-
 “ tions of all Europe; and feeling as he
 “ did, that as all Europe must co-operate
 “ in the great work, it could only be ef-
 “ fected in a spirit of compromise; yet
 “ was it no small satisfaction to him, and

“ to all who revered the politics of that
 “ great statesman, Mr. Pitt, as he did, that
 “ *they had lived to see that reduced to*
 “ *practice which his great mind, when*
 “ *given to the consideration of this impor-*
 “ *tant question, had fondly imagined in the*
 “ *abstract as the utmost of his wishes.*—
 “ Lived to see *what* reduced to practice,
 “ my Lord? To practice! Why, there is no
 “ part of the plan yet reduced to practice.
 “ *Treaties* have, indeed, been made; but,
 “ there is a battle to be fought to decide
 “ whether those treaties are to have effect.
 “ I know nothing of Pitt’s schemes that has
 “ yet succeeded. He told the nation in
 “ 1793, that it had to fight for its existence;
 “ and so you and your colleagues and sup-
 “ porters tell the nation now. It is, at any
 “ rate, a little premature to boast of your
 “ great statesman’s success. He had a plan for
 “ paying off the National Debt, and the
 “ Debt has become more than four times as
 “ great as it was when he adopted his plan.
 “ He had a plan for ruining the finances of
 “ France; and, at the end of four years
 “ from that time, he passed a bill to autho-
 “ rize the Bank of England to refuse pay-
 “ ment of their notes in cash. He had a
 “ plan for inducing the people of England
 “ to arm for their country’s defence, and he
 “ passed a Bill to authorize the keeping up
 “ of Hanoverian Regiments in England. He
 “ had a plan for reducing the French by
 “ the means of famine; and we have now a
 “ Corn Bill to prevent the French from pour-
 “ ing in upon us the superabundance of their
 “ provisions.—But, you will say, “allow,
 “ at any rate, that his plan for destroying
 “ *French principles* succeeded.” No: for
 “ they are *not destroyed*; and, all the
 “ speakers in favour of war insist, that we
 “ shall *now* be devoured by these same
 “ French principles, unless we *destroy them*
 “ *by war.* The passage, which I have taken
 “ for my motto, expresses the sentiments of
 “ the whole of the war party. It is, indeed,
 “ in the mouths of them all, that war, and
 “ war only, can *save us* from French prin-
 “ ciples.—Therefore, we are, in *this respect,*
 “ just where your great statesman set out
 “ with us; but, we have added to our debt
 “ and taxes fourfold, and we have found,
 “ that, with the Bourbons on the throne,
 “ we *cannot live in peace,* without greater
 “ distress even than that occasioned by war.
 “ —The “Pitt Club” may toast as long as
 “ they please; but, I am of opinion, that
 “ whether in peace or war, the Pitt System

will very soon have produced consequences that will defy longer disguise.

V. *Of the great means of the Allies against France, including subsidies.*—Your Lordship said, upon this point, that you had, thus, “endeavoured to open the general ground of the war, trusting much to the MIND, the INTELLIGENCE, the EXPERIENCE, and EXTENSIVE KNOWLEDGE of the HOUSE! which had, for twenty-five years, dwelt on passing events. Although painful to his feelings to make a proposition of this nature, instead of realising those BRILLIANT PROSPECTS of peace and security, which, after so many exertions, the country had a right to contemplate, yet he felt much consolation in comparing our present situation with that in which we stood in the course of former wars. We were not now contending for our own safety, without a single Ally, against the power of the enemy. Let the House recollect, that even at that moment, when engaged in the prosecution of our own moral duty, our aid was required for Portugal and Spain, we had not hesitated to interpose our strong hand: we had felt bold in the justice of our cause, and became the protectors of other countries. This resolution had been pursued with a degree of perseverance, which did honor to the country. We had struggled through the storm—we survived the period of calamity, and had the satisfaction of seeing those two nations freed, and the whole of Europe confederated against France, instead of being combined against us. It was, therefore, evident, that we now started from a different point. *We were then fighting against France, and the whole power of Europe.* All Europe was now contending with us against France: nay, a strong combination in France itself was probably formed on our side, so that we were fighting with the Powers of the Continent and a portion of France, against the usurpation of Bonaparte and of the army.” Oh! this makes you feel consolation, does it? I wish you could hear what the press of America will say upon this. And, what were the “brilliant prospects” of peace and security? The prospects of peace were worse, were more gloomy, more wretched, than those of war. We had lost all, even if peace

had continued.—But the troops! the troops! Let us see the muster-roll of those who are to destroy French principles by means of powder and ball.—Mr. GRATTAN said, you had 600,000 of these gentlemen preservers of religion and social order; but you carry the number much higher, in your published reported speech of the 26th of May, wherein you give this thinking nation the following

MUSTER ROLL.

“As far as Austria was concerned, there were in full operation, ready to act and be put in motion, an army of 150,000 men in Italy, sufficient of itself to satisfy the stipulations in the treaty. But this power would have an army of extent in another quarter towards the Rhine, so that instead of 150,000, we might consider the operating and effective army to amount to 300,000 men.—With respect to the Russian force, he had the satisfaction to state, that the Emperor had engaged in the present contest with that decision which marked the whole of his conduct throughout the late eventful war, and had resolved to call out a great part of the forces of his mighty empire. General Barclay de Tolly was at the head of as fine an army as ever was called out on service in any country, having such ample means of selection in their power. The force in the ranks under him, which would arrive at the Rhine, amounted to 225,000 men, and as this army was accompanied by a number of volunteers, it would arrive at the Rhine as complete in numbers as when it left the Russian empire. There was assembled besides on the frontiers another army of 150,000 men, under General Wittgenstein; and the Emperor had signified to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent his readiness to put in motion this army, if exigencies should render such a measure necessary. No money that it was in our power to grant could create such an army—all that we could possibly do was to assist them in their efforts. That force of 225,000 men was very nearly advanced to the Rhine, and in such a state of military efficiency as was never exceeded by any army.—The third Power which had made such great exertions during the last war, to the great admiration of every man, had not confined himself to

“the stipulations of the Treaty, but had
 “six corps, of 236,000 men in the
 “whole, in an effective state. But the
 “House were entitled to inquire from
 “him, and he was anxious to anti-
 “cipate them in their wish for informa-
 “tion, whether our pecuniary assistance
 “was to be confided to the three great
 “Powers, and whether such other Powers
 “as might join the common cause were
 “to share all the difficulties, without re-
 “ceiving any extent of assistance? He
 “thought it right that the House should
 “know what was the extent of that de-
 “scription of force, and what was the
 “value of the aid which they were likely
 “to receive from us. Having stated the
 “force of the great Powers, he did not
 “wish to enter into a statement of the
 “force of each subordinate Power. Con-
 “sidering Great Britain and Holland
 “separately, he would estimate the other
 “Powers together—some of them would
 “bring considerable forces into the field;
 “Bavaria, for instance, had an army of
 “60,000 men of the very best descrip-
 “tion. The force which that Power,
 “with Wirtemberg, Baden, Hesse, Sax-
 “ony, the Hanse Towns, and the small
 “States on the Rhine, would bring into
 “the field, amounted to one hundred and
 “fifty thousand men, besides what was
 “already stated. That collective mass
 “was independent of the force of the
 “three great Powers, and the force of
 “Great Britain and Holland.—The Bri-
 “tish force would be 50,000 men, and
 “the King of the Netherlands was to
 “furnish an equal amount of 50,000
 “men to the Confederacy. There were
 “actually 30,000 of them in service and
 “in the field, and the remainder of the
 “force was in a state of preparation and
 “was expected to be soon ready. Tak-
 “ing therefore the whole collective force:

Austria	-	-	300,000
Russia	-	-	235,000
Prussia	-	-	235,000
Collective States of Germany	-	-	150,000
Great Britain	-	-	50,000
Holland	-	-	50,000
			<hr/>
			1,011,000

“It formed a total of one million and
 “eleven thousand men exclusive of the
 “army of the Emperor of Russia as-
 “sembled on the frontiers of his domini-
 “ons, and ready to act in case of exi-

“gency.”—Hourra, Pat! here we go at
 the Jacobins! How this must have de-
 lighted the eyes and gladdened the hearts
 of those worthy and zealous gentlemen, the
 General Assembly of the *Kirk of Scot-*
land, who have been the first, and, as
 yet, the only body of men, who have pre-
 sented an address in favour of war.

VI. *Of the small means of the French*
to defend themselves.—Upon this subject
 it was said—

By the EARL of LIVERPOOL, that “the
 “sentiments of the *bulk* of the French
 “nation were *extremely* averse” to
 “Napoleon.

By MR. GRATTAN, that “the French
 “power had in other respects been
 “diminished. Bonaparte had *no*
 “cavalry; he had *no* money; he had
 “no title, nor any credit. The peo-
 “ple had never regretted his absence;
 “on the contrary, they were over-
 “joyed at it. Indeed, how could
 “they regret the man who had im-
 “posed on them a military yoke—
 “who had *taken their money by his*
 “*own decrees*—who had *robbed them*
 “*of their children* by an arbitrary
 “conscription? The people would
 “not rise in favour and support of
 “a conqueror who had proved
 “himself an oppressor of France.
 “On the contrary, they would be
 “glad to see the Allies triumph over
 “him, for they must clearly see, that
 “when the conqueror was removed
 “the oppressor would be removed
 “also. The first powers of Europe
 “had now united to remove the
 “oppressor, and it would be ridicu-
 “lous to suppose that the French
 “people would break their oaths
 “pledged to a mild and merciful So-
 “vereign, for the purpose of saddling
 “themselves with the *eternal* *dumna-*
 “*tion of a military despotism.*”....
That, “his” (Napo-
 leon’s) “power was at present tot-
 “tering to the very base.”

By MR. PLUNKET, that “If we were to
 “tell the French people that we were
 “ready to negotiate with Bonaparte
 “as their ruler, it would at once
 “destroy all the hopes that might
 “now fairly be entertained of the co-
 “operation of a considerable portion
 “of the nation. When, however,
 “we saw the situation in which Bo-

"naparte now stood ; when we saw
 "him reduced to make professions
 "contrary to his very nature ; when
 "we saw the vessel in which his for-
 "tunes were embarked labouring
 "with the storm, and its mast bowed
 "down to the water's edge, it would
 "be to the height of impolicy and
 "absurdity to hesitate on the cause
 "that we had to pursue."—These
 are memorable words.

By yourself, my Lord, that "The mili-
 "tary force of ALL THE REST OF
 "EUROPE was combined against
 "the HALF OF FRANCE."

Hourra, hourra, Pat ! Here we dash at
 the Jacobins, as we did at the Yankies.

VII. *Of the Morality of the Subsi-
 dies.*—Mr. PLUNKIT said, that "We had
 "now a most powerful combination
 "of Allies, not fomented by us, but
 "acting from the moral feeling which
 "pervade all Europe. If we were
 "foolish enough to throw away those
 "means, we could never hope to re-
 "cal them. Those of his friends who
 "had talked the most about husban-
 "ding the resources of the country,
 "had confessed, that when an occa-
 "sion should arrive, when some im-
 "portant blow could be struck
 "against the enemy, that system
 "should be no longer persevered in.
 "That important crisis had now ar-
 "rived. It was vain to expect that
 "a more favourable opportunity
 "would ever arrive. All the great
 "powers of Europe were now with
 "us, and a considerable portion of
 "the population of France.

Here I close my extracts, my Lord.
 These are memorable passages. They will
 have to be reverted to many hundreds of
 times. Here they are safe. They will
 not now be lost. Here are the alleged
 causes and the projected effects of the war,
 on which we are now entering ; and,
 having made these sure, I shall, in my
 future letters, request your attention to
 other matters. I am, &c. &c.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 7th June, 1815.

TO CORRESPONDENTS

IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Botley, near Southampton, 7th June, 1815.

I have received by post a single Na-
 tional Intelligencer of the 23d of April,
 and NILES'S WEEKLY REGISTER,
 of April 1st and 8th, 1815. They were
 under covers, and directed to "Botley,
 near London." It should have been
 "Botley, near Southampton." They were
 put into the post-office at Portsmouth,
 only 14 miles from Botley ; but, having
 the word London upon them, they were
 sent on thither. I beg Mr. NILES and the
 person who sent me the Intelligencer, to
 accept of my best thanks. I am very
 highly flattered at perceiving, that a work
 precisely upon the model, and with the
 title of my own, should have been esta-
 blished in America, and carried on already
 to the eighth volume.—I hope Mr. NILES
 will continue sending me his Register. He
 shall have Cobbett's Register sent him as
 regularly as possible.—I beg my Corres-
 pondents to look at my Notices in the two
 last Numbers.

WM. COBBETT.

MODERN FORGERIES.

MR. COBBETT,—The French Govern-
 ment invite the distinguished English at
 Paris to visit the archives, for the purpose
 of witnessing the base falsification of do-
 cuments, made with a view to support the
 recent political arrangements of the Con-
 gress ; and that such falsifications have
 taken place no discerning man in Europe
 can doubt. It is, however, unnecessary
 to go to Paris to witness the fraud of such
 falsifications ; a similar manœuvre having
 just been played off on the whole English
 nation, so barefacedly, that all may de-
 tect it, in an important document, lately
 laid officially before the House of Com-
 mons, a copy of which you inserted in
 your last Register.

In the ENGLISH TRANSLATION of this
 document, M. de Caulaincourt, the French
 Minister for Foreign Affairs, who may be
 supposed to have written under the imme-
 diate eye of the Emperor, is made, in the
 official translation, to say, in speaking of
 Napoleon's recal to the throne of France,
 that "His Majesty prides himself above

"all on the reflection, that he owes it entirely to the love of the French people, and he has no other wish than to repay such affections no longer by the trophies of VAIN AMBITION, but by all the advantages of an honourable repose, and by all the blessings of a happy tranquillity." Now, Sir, who would suppose, in reading this passage, but that the Emperor Napoleon, penetrated with compunction for his past errors, had been led to confess, through his Minister, that he had been heretofore stimulated by "vain ambition," the vice so currently attributed to him by the prostituted press of England?—Their point in truth was thus accomplished. They had for years accused Bonaparte of disturbing the world by his "vain ambition;" and here they give it under his own hand, or, which is the same thing, under the hand of his confidential Minister. Doubtless you and the public at large have been struck with this extraordinary confession, made in the face of a thousand facts, which give it the lie direct, it being most notorious to every one who has lived with his eyes open since the year 1799, that Bonaparte's career began by the restoration of a general peace, and has been uniformly marked by endeavours to remain at peace with all those who chose to be at peace with him; his overtures and solicitations in favour of peace savouring of pusillanimity, and sometimes leading to war, by affording grounds for a charge of weakness on his part. I was led, therefore, to notice this passage in the French original, as presented to the Houses of Parliament, when, to my utter astonishment, I found nothing about "vain ambition," or any sentiment which justified the use of this favourite phrase of our war faction! No man, Mr. Cobbett, understands the French language better than yourself; behold then the original phrase of M. de CAULAINCOURT's letter, "*Sa Majesté s'honore surtout de la de voir uniquement à l'amour du peuple Français, et elle ne forme plus qu'un désir, c'est de payer tant d'affection, non plus par des trophées d'une trop infructueuse grandeur, mais par tous les avantages, d'un honorable repos, par tous les bienfaits d'une heureuse tranquillité.*" Here, every person who understands French, or who is competent to consult a French dictionary, will find that a moral sentiment,

expressible by the English words UNPROFITABLE GREATNESS, or FRUITLESS GRANDEUR, is insidiously and dishonestly perverted into the criminal passion of "vain ambition," to serve the purposes of corruption and craft, and to delude the very numerous readers of this interesting State Paper, who have not the opportunity to compare it with the French original. Can a "good cause" stand in need of such despicable artifices?

I am, Sir, your constant reader,

WILLIAM MAYLAND.

London, May 28, 1815.

TO THE THINKING PEOPLE OF ENGLAND,
WHO DO NOT FORM THE ARISTOCRACY,
AND WHO ARE NOT OF THE WAR FAC-
TION.

MY FRIENDS.—It might be well for you to consider the terrific scene, which is pendant over your country, and over Europe. The moments are few, but they may yet serve for the public expression of popular opinion against a war with France, which your Regent and a large proportion of your Aristocracy has determined on. Consider how similar the occasion and commencement of this war is to that of the first one, which arose out of the French Revolution. It is the dread of the success and of the ultimate spread of that spirit, of that Revolution which has alarmed the feelings, and aroused the indignation of our trembling Aristocracy.—The expulsion of one dynasty, and the popular adoption of another; the extinction of old titles, the forfeiture of property, the dissolution of a powerful church establishment, the amelioration of the condition of the great mass of the people, who then became independent; these are too formidable objects to be viewed with complacency by those of this country, whom similar events might place in similar situations. This is the dread, this causes the panic, and this, this only, is the reason why you are to be engaged in a war, of which no man can calculate the conclusion or the consequences.—To make this war palatable, to make it appear necessary for your interest, the base hirelings of every description are using every species of deception and falsehood. One hour we are told, that Bonaparte can never take the

field because the late King, good man, (after he had packed up the Crown jewels we suppose) ordered all the powder and powder-mills to be destroyed. Now is it to be believed, when Soult had the direction of the war department, aided by other Marshals who were planning Napoleons return, that such an order would have been executed at the last moments of the Kings authority; and had it really happened, is it forgotten how in the earliest periods of the Revolutionary war, upon a scarcity of powder, how quickly the men of science, when directed to turn their attention to the preparation of this article, supplied the want. The same falsehood, the same delusion is practiced in a thousand forms. In nothing more than in the impudent statements of desertion from the French armies. I wish the issue of the question of war or peace could be rested upon the truth or falsehood of this fact, whether from the hour of Bonaparte's landing in France, up to this moment of time, they could or could not shew a list of authenticated names of one thousand French soldiers, who had served with him, and who have quitted his standard to join the Allies. The chance would be a poor one for the friends of war.—Such then are the causes of the war, and such the vile means resorted to to induce your hearty concurrence in it, that you may pay for it in taxation and bleed for it, with slaves from Russia, changelings from Germany, and subsidised soldiers from all quarters of the Continent. They tell you, it is to be but a *summer's business*; that the Bourbons, the nobles, the priests, the tythes, the forfeited estates, the virtues, the blessings, and the comforts of the old Regime, and of all the Feudal System, will then be restored in full and original authority; as an example to all nations and all people who dare to exert the rights of nature, and vindicate their freedom against the tyranny of old institutions, and the feebleness and wickedness of the few who lord it over and trample on the many. As agriculturists, I think, you have sufficiently felt and seen the difficulties you now labour under; how taxation prevents your being able to meet the foreign corn grower in the market. As manufacturers, you now see, that by war you have driven all nations to become your rivals; that in the finer goods you are undersold; and that

even the demand for coarser articles is so diminished that trade languishes, and employment in many instances is not to be found. Will an addition of taxes better either of these respective conditions? will not rather increased causes produce increased effects?—Englishmen! “arise, awake, or be ever fallen.” The war is not your war; the objects of it are not your advantage; and the continuance of it must produce a crisis, the horrors, the evils, and ultimate safety from which no man can calculate. The fall of those who occasion the evil will not be alone, or the just retribution of Heaven might cause few tears from the survivors. But around us would hover numerous people, whom we have by our subsidies enriched and ranged in arms; whom we have taught that interference in the internal Government of other countries, is in some causes a duty; and whom their own experience has taught, that in others it may be an advantage, inasmuch as sometimes they may end as conquerors where they pretended to come as mediators and friends. Would, my friends, what I have said might rouse you to the exercise of all legitimate means to stem the tide of war, with which the weakness and wickedness of some men would overwhelm us. The cause is your own, and as is your apathy or your vigour you must abide and remain. CIVIS.

June 7th, 1815.

THE CHAMP DE MAI.

In introducing to the notice of my readers, the most impressive and important proceeding which Europe has witnessed since the commencement of the French Revolution, few comments are necessary. It is a ceremony which speaks for itself, and which ought to overwhelm with confusion all the base efforts of the vile hireling press, who stigmatise it with the silly epithet of “*a farce*.” I fear its effects will not be found *farceful*; and certainly if our besotted war faction continue their industrious efforts, one of the first effects will be the renewal of those principles of liberty, which may possibly shake the thrones of the Allied Autocrats to their foundation. I do not say that it will; but it is, at least, *possible* that it may.—But there is one circumstance, connected with the celebration of the *Champ de Mai*,

so strikingly important, that I cannot forbear noticing it. The detestable Billingsgate calumniators of the French Emperor, have uniformly stated, as their decided and conclusive conviction, that he dared not appear in public; that when he went out he was either shut up in a close carriage or rode his horse at full gallop. What do these foul mouthed hirelings say now? What do they say to his placing himself, unarmed and without guards, on an elevated throne, surrounded not only by the people from all parts of the immense French empire, but also by the whole population of the prodigious city of Paris? And yet not a single assassin could be found in spite of all the proclamations of the "legitimate proprietors of the human race," to do the so much desired deed of putting an end to the only *really elected* monarch in Europe.—Would any of the Emperors or Kings who have proscribed Napoleon venture so to expose themselves? I doubt much whether any of them, shining as they are in all the great qualities that adorn human nature, would choose to call about them the population of their States.—At least, it would not perhaps be considered the most wise experiment, unless a *body guard* was previously provided to protect their sacred persons.—After this new proof of the attachment of the French people to Napoleon, let us hear no more of the vile attempts of the Times and the Courier to persuade us, that Napoleon has not been elected by the free and unbiassed suffrages of the French nation. This event is pregnant with the most important consequences; but it is unnecessary for me to say more upon the subject to such men as compose the readers of the Register.—I give them the text; they will make their own commentary:—

Paris. June 2.—Never did a festival more national, never a spectacle at once so solemn and touching, attract the attention of the French people as the Assembly of the Champ de Mai. Every thing that could interest and elevate the soul—the prayers of religion—the compact of a great people with their Sovereign—France represented by the select of her Citizens, Agriculturists, Merchants, Magistrates, and Warriors, collected around the Throne—an immense population, covering the Champ de Mars, and

joining in vows for the great object of that magnificent ceremony—all excited the most ardent enthusiasm of which the most memorable epochs have left us the recollection.—We shall not at present enter into a particular description of the buildings prepared for this ceremony, but shall merely state the general arrangements. The Emperor's throne was erected in front of the Military School, and in the centre of a vast semi-circular inclosure, two thirds of which formed, on the right and left grand amphitheatres, in which 15,000 persons were seated. The other third in front of the throne was open. An altar was erected in the middle. Further on, and about 100 toises distant, was placed another throne, which overlooked the whole Champ de Mars. The Emperor having repaired to the Champ de Mars, in procession, in the order described in the Programme, appeared on his throne amidst universal acclamations. Mass was celebrated by the Archbishop of Tours, assisted by Cardinal Bayanne, and four other Bishops.—Mass being concluded, the Members of the Central Deputation of the Electoral Colleges advanced to the foot of the Throne, the steps of which they ascended, in order to have a nearer view of the Emperor, and to be better seen by him. They were about 500 in number. They were presented to his Majesty by the Arch Chancellor.—Then one of the Members of the Deputation (M. Dubois d'Angers, Elector and Representative of the Department of the Maine and Loire), pronounced with a loud voice and much animation, the following Address, in the name of the French people:—

SIRE—The French people had decreed the Crown to you; you deposed it without their consent; its suffrages have just imposed upon you the duty of resuming it.—A new contract is formed between the nation and your Majesty.—Collected from all points of the Empire around the tables of the law on which we are about to inscribe the wish of the people, this wish, which is the only legitimate source of power, it is impossible for us not to utter the voice of France, of which we are the immediate organs, not to say in the presence of Europe, to the august chief of the nation, what it expects from him; and what he is to expect from it.—What

is the object of the league of Allied Kings with that warlike preparation by which they alarm Europe and afflict humanity?—By what act, what violation have we provoked their vengeance, or given cause for their aggression? Have we since peace was concluded endeavoured to give them laws? We merely wish to make and to follow those which are adapted to our manners. We will not have the Chief whom our enemies would give us, and we will have him whom they wish us not to have. They dare to proscribe you personally: you, Sire, who, so often master of their capitals, generously consolidated their tottering thrones. This hatred of our enemies adds to our love for you. Were they to proscribe the most obscure of our citizens, it would be our duty to defend him with the same energy. He would be, like you, under the *Ægis* of French Law and French Power. They menace us with invasion! And yet contracted within frontiers which nature has not imposed upon us, and which, long before your reign, victory and even peace had extended, we have not, from respect to treaties which you had not signed, but which you had offered to observe, sought to pass that narrow boundary. Do they ask for guarantees? They have them all in our institutions, and in the will of the French people henceforth united to yours. Do they not dread to remind us of times, of a state of things lately so different, but which may still be re-produced! It would not be the first time that we have conquered all Europe armed against us.

Because France wishes to be France, must she be degraded, torn, dismembered, and must the fate of Poland be reserved for us? It is in vain to conceal insidious designs under the sole pretence of separating you from us, in order to give us Masters with whom we have nothing in common. Their presence destroyed all the illusions attached to their name. They could not believe our oaths, neither could we their promises. Tithes, feudal rights, privileges, every thing that was odious to us was too evidently the fond object of their thought, when one of them, to console the impatience of the present, assured his confidants that *he would answer to them for the future*. Every thing shall be attempted, every thing executed, to repel so ignominious a yoke. We de-

clare it to nations: may their chiefs hear us! If they accept your offers of peace, the French people will look to your vigorous, liberal, and paternal administration for grounds of consolation, for the sacrifices made to obtain peace: but if we are left no choice but between war and disgrace, the whole country will rise for war, and the nation is prepared to relieve you from the too moderate offers you have perhaps made, in order to save Europe from a new convulsion. Every Frenchman is a soldier: Victory will follow your eagles, and our enemies who rely on our divisions, will soon regret having provoked us.

The energy and the feelings of the speaker gradually extended to all around, and the whole Champ de Mars resounded with cries of *Vive le Nation! Vive le Empereur!* At this moment the Arch-Chancellor proclaimed the result of the votes, shewing that the Additional Act to the Constitution of the Empire had been accepted almost unanimously; the number of negative votes being 4,206. The Chief of the Heralds at Arms, on the order of his Majesty, transmitted by the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, said,—

In the name of his Majesty I declare, that the Act Additional to the Constitutions of the Empire has been accepted by the French people.

The Grand Chamberlain caused a table to be brought in front of the throne, on which the Act was placed. The Chancellor delivered a pen to Prince Joseph, who presented it to the Emperor, and his Majesty affixed his signature to the Act for the promulgation of the Constitution. The table being removed, and the Emperor seated and covered, spoke in the following terms:—

Gentlemen, Electors of the Colleges of the Departments and Districts: Gentlemen, Deputies of the Army and Navy, at the Champ de Mai;—Emperor, Consul, Soldier, I derive all from the people. In prosperity, in adversity, on the field of battle, in council, on the throne, and in exile, France has been the sole and constant object of my thoughts and actions. Like the King of Athens, I sacrificed myself for my people, in the hope of realizing the promise given to preserve to France

her natural integrity, her honours and her rights. Indignation at seeing these sacred rights, acquired by 20 years of victory, disavowed and lost for ever; the cry of French honour tarnished, and the wishes of the nation have replaced me upon that throne which is dear to me, because it is the palladium of the independence, the honour, and the rights of the people. Frenchmen, in traversing amidst the public joy the different provinces of the empire to reach my capital, I had reason to rely on a lasting peace. Nations are bound by treaties concluded by their Governments, whatever they may be. My thoughts were then all occupied with the means of establishing our liberty by a constitution conformable to the will and interests of the people. I convoked the Champ de Mai. I soon learned that the Princes who have disregarded all principles, who have trampled on the sentiments and dearest interests of so many nations, wish to make war against us. They meditate the increasing the kingdom of the Netherlands, by giving it as barriers all our northern frontier places, and the conciliation of the differences which still exist among them by dividing Lorraine and Alsace. It was necessary to provide for war. But, before personally encountering the hazards of battles, my first care has been to constitute the nation without delay. The people have accepted the Act which I have presented to them. Frenchmen, when we shall have repelled these unjust aggressions, and Europe shall be convinced of what is due to the rights and independence of 28 millions of people, a solemn law drawn up in the forms required by the Constitutional Act shall combine together the different dispositions of our constitutions now dispersed. Frenchmen, you are about to return to your departments; inform the citizens that circumstances are grand! That with union, energy, and perseverance, we shall return victorious from this contest of a great people against their oppressors; that future generations will severely scrutinize our conduct, and that a nation has lost all when she has lost her independence; tell them that foreign Kings whom I have raised to the throne, or who owe to me the preservation of their crowns; who all during my prosperity sought my alliance and the protection of the French people,

now direct their blows against my person. Did I not perceive that it is the country they wish to injure, I would place at their mercy this existence against which they shew themselves so much incensed. But tell the citizens, that while the French people preserve towards me the sentiments of love, of which they have given me so many proofs, the rage of our enemies will be powerless. Frenchmen, my wish is that of the people; my rights are theirs; my honour, my glory, my happiness, can be no other than the honour, the glory, and the happiness of France.

It would be difficult to describe the emotions which were manifested on every countenance by the words of his Majesty, or the prolonged cries which followed his speech. The Archbishop of Bourges, First Almoner, performing the functions of the Grand Almoner, then approached the throne, and on his knees presented the Holy Gospel to the Emperor, who took the oath in the following terms—

I SWEAR TO OBSERVE AND CAUSE TO BE OBSERVED THE CONSTITUTIONS OF THE EMPIRE.

The Prince Arch-Chancellor advancing to the foot of the throne, first pronounced the oath of *obedience to the Constitutions and fidelity to the Emperor*. The Assembly with one unanimous voice repeated—*We swear*. The Members of the Deputation remained seated on the steps of the throne, and *Te Deum* was chaunted, and the Presidents of the Electoral Colleges advanced to receive the Eagles for the National Guards of their departments. The Eagle of the National Guard of the Seine, that of the first regiment of the Line, and that of the first Marine corps, were carried by the Ministers of the Interior, of War, and the Marine. The Emperor, having laid aside his Imperial robe arose from the throne, came forward to the first steps, and spoke as follows:—

Soldiers of the National Guard of the Empire, Soldiers of the Land and Sea Forces, I entrust to you the Imperial Eagle with the National Colours: you will swear to defend it at the expence of your blood against the enemies of the

country and of this throne! You swear that it shall always be your rallying sign! You swear it!

Cries, universally prolonged, of *We swear*, resounded throughout the Assembly. Amidst these acclamations, and surrounded by the Eagles of all the armed corps of France, the Emperor proceeded to place himself on the throne erected in the middle of the Champ de Mars, where, as Colonel of the National Guard of Paris, and of the Imperial Guard, he presented Eagles to the Presidents of the departments, and the six arrondissements, and to the Chiefs of his Guard.—Count Chapital, President of the Electoral Colleges of Paris, and Lieutenant-General Durosnel, carried the Eagle of the National Guard; and Lieutenant-General Count Friant that of the Imperial Guard. The troops marched in battalion and squadron, and surrounded the throne, with the Officers in the first line. The Emperor said—

Soldiers of the National Guard of Paris, Soldiers of the Imperial Guard, I entrust to you the Imperial Eagle, with the National Colours. You swear to die, if necessary, in its defence, against the enemies of the country and the throne. [Here all who were within hearing interrupted the Emperor with cries of *We swear*.] You swear never to acknowledge any other rallying sign. [New cries of *We swear*.] You, soldiers of the National Guard, you swear never to permit foreigners again to stain the capital of the Great Nation. To your courage I shall entrust it. [Cries of *We swear*! a thousand times repeated]—And you, soldiers of the Imperial Guard, you swear to surpass yourselves in the campaign which is about to open, and to die rather than permit foreigners to dictate laws to your country.

Here the acclamations, and the cries of *We swear*, resounded throught the whole of the Champ de Mars. The troops, form-

ing near 50,000 men, including 27,000 National Guards, then defiled before his Majesty amidst the cries of *Vive l'Empereur*! and the acclamations of an immense multitude, covering the Champ de Mars and extending to the Seine. His Majesty then entered the military School through a crowd, which with difficulty opened to afford him a passage, and finally returned in his carriage to the Thuilleries, in the same order of procession as he arrived in the Champ de Mars.

MINISTRY OF WAR

ORDER OF THE DAY.

The most august ceremony has consecrated our institutions. The Emperor has received from the Representatives of the People, and the Deputies of all the corps of the army, the expression of the wishes of the whole nation on the additional Act to the Constitutions of the Empire, which had been sent for its acceptance. A new oath binds together France and the Emperor. Thus are destinies accomplished, and the efforts of an impious league, will fail to separate the interests of a great people from that hero of whom the most brilliant triumphs have gained the admiration of the universe. It is at the moment when the national will displays itself, with so much energy, that cries of war are heard. It is at the moment when the national will displays itself with so much energy that cries of war are heard. It is at the moment when France is at peace with all the world, that Foreign armies move towards our frontiers. What are the hopes of this new Coalition? Does it wish to sweep France away from her rank amongst nations? Does it intend to enslave 28 millions of Frenchmen? Has it forgotten that the first league formed against our independence only served to aggrandize us in power and in glory. A hundred splendid victories, which momentary reverses and unfortunate circumstances have not effaced, must remind that Coalition, that a free people guided by a great man, is invincible. Every man in France is a Soldier when national honour and liberty are at stake; a common interest now unites all

Frenchmen. The engagements which violence had extorted from us are destroyed, by the flight of the Bourbons from our territories, by the appeal which they have made to foreign armies to replace them on the Throne which they have abandoned, and by the will of the nation, who, whilst resuming the free exercise of her rights, has solemnly disavowed all that had been done without her participation. Frenchmen will not receive laws from strangers; even those traitors who are gone to solicit amongst foreigners a patricidal assistance, will soon know and experience as well as their predecessors, that contempt and infamy follow their steps, and that they can only wipe off the opprobrium with which they cover themselves, by re-entering our ranks. But a new career of glory opens itself to the army; history will consecrate the remembrance of the military deeds which will illustrate the defenders of the country, and the national honour. Our enemies are numerous, we are told; why should we care! their defeat will be the more glorious. The struggle on the eve of commencing, is neither above the genius of Napoleon, nor above our strength.—Do we not see all our departments rivalling each other in enthusiasm and devotion, form, as through the power of magic, five hundred superb battalions of National Guards, who are already come to double our ranks, defend our fortresses, and associate themselves to the glory of the army? It is the impulse of a generous people, which no Power can conquer, and which posterity will admire. To arms! The signal will soon be given: let every one be at his post. Our victorious phalanxes will derive fresh glory from

the numbers of our enemies. Soldiers, Napoleon guides our steps; we fight for the independence of our fine country: we are invincible.

The Marshal of Empire,

Major-General the Duke of DALMATIA.

Paris, June 1, 1815.

THE CHAMP DE MAL

Hear a powerful nation's voice

One gen'ral sentiment proclaim,

That great NAPOLEON is their choice,

From whom they have deriv'd their fame.

Hear the gallic warriors swear,

And all the people chorus join;

See how the glitt'ring sword and spear

Like glory round their Emp'ror shine.

With rapture hear them all declare

That, while by great NAPOLEON led,

No hostile pow'rs shall ever dare

Again, on their free soil to tread.

The Mountain Nymph, sweet LIBERTY,

Long banish'd by the Bourbon race,

Calls forth the Franks, and they obey

Her signals, and her footsteps trace.

Oh glorious Nation! how I sigh,

With my weak arm to lend you aid;

Much rather in your ranks I'd die

Than a vile Despot's tool be made.

CAROLINE.

Epsom Church Yard, June 7th 1815.

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